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The Present

NECESSITY

Of distinguishing

Publick Spirit

FROM

PART II.



L O N D O N :

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T H E

Present Necessity, &c.



WHEN I read those mutual Accusations in print, which the unhappy Divisions of our Country so frequently produce, I consider them as Invectives of Men provok'd by Opposition or Disappointment, and am always willing to think (what every honest Man should wish) that each Side exaggerates even what they believe and know upon those Occasions. Otherwise, indeed, it could hardly have been possible for the Nation to have maintain'd till now, even that Appearance of Tranquillity, which it still preserves. But yet no Man can flatter himself, with Reason, that all those Assertions are groundless ; and, when they are all such as concern the very Safety and

Being of our Country, it is a melancholy Consideration indeed, that any Men, who are solicitous for its Welfare, should, in such Storms of State, still cling to Party for Preservation; as if they were resolv'd to be saved only their own way; and, instead of throwing away all Prejudices and Animosities, and working together with all their Might for their common Preservation, that they should still range themselves as in Battle, and each aim chiefly at sinking the other, when these Differences must end in their common Destruction.

This Reflection singly has moved the Author of the following Treatise to publish his Thoughts upon this Subject. It is not with a View to serve or please any Set of Men, however distinguishing themselves, or distinguish'd; but it is from a sincere Concern for the Welfare of all indifferently; to convince them, if he can, of the Necessity of an impartial Inquiry into the true State of Things; of discovering, who are their Deceivers; of dropping Party-views of all kinds, and uniting in true Publick Spirit.

There is, perhaps, no Country in the World, where so much has been said and written upon publick Matters, as in our own; and yet, perhaps, none, where less has been done for many Years, with a
true

true disinterested Regard to the Publick. This will appear less extraordinary to those, who consider what Spirit has chiefly prevailed; a Spirit of Interest and Dependency; a Spirit of Ambition and Revenge; and (to sum up all the Wickedness and Weakness, which human Nature can contrive or connive at in one Word) a Spirit of Party. Of what Inconsistencies and Injustice the publick as well as private Conduct of Mankind is composed, is visible to every thinking Person; but he, who imputes all to Intention, has surely a worse Opinion of the World, than it deserves; especially as to Men's publick Conduct, which requires somewhat more Consideration than is necessary to private Life; where most Occurrences are more frequent, and more familiar to the Judgment, without needing much Attention or Reflection. Weakness surely occasions more Miscarriages than Wickedness, both in publick and private Life; a Weakness not necessitated, but wilful; produced by Prejudice, and maintain'd by Indolence; and therefore excusable in neither; but in publick Life, as it is more dangerous, so is it more to be accounted for, from Men's Education, Conversation, their Friendships, their Enmities; so many Circumstances and Accidents combine, to provide them with Prejudices,

judices, and persuade their Indolence to acquiesce under them, that the first Mistake frequently occasions a whole Life of Error; for which their Judgment, corrupted in the first Instance, applauds them in every other.

This being the Case, the great Business of an honest Man in this World, is to be always intent upon undeceiving himself and others; a laborious, and perhaps an ungrateful Employment; but the most real Interest, the most glorious Ambition, and (which ought to be a Consideration of more Weight than both these) the most self-approving Conduct, which any Man can pursue: For, if from Error, may almost every human Misfortune be deduced; he shews himself most a Friend to Humankind, who attacks their greatest Enemy; and, if Prejudices of all kinds are destructive of Society, those, which are of the most publick Nature, must of necessity be of the most dangerous Consequence. Of these the most fatal is Party, that lurking Mischief, which has been more than once so near destroying all that is valuable in this Nation; which has, for some Ages, interrupted her Happiness, and sapp'd her Strength; and which (however it may have appear'd to be subdu'd or expell'd) has constantly threaten'd her under new Disguises,

Disguises, and watch'd every Opportunity of effecting her Ruin.

In the present Times, little need be said, one should imagine, upon the Mischievousness and Dangerousness of Party in general: From what we have heard, and what we must have observ'd, from the Instances we may have read, and the Facts we have seen; every thinking Person must have long contracted such a Detestation for Party, that he can have consider'd with little Credulity and Satisfaction (but rather with Suspicion and Horror) whatever has been deriv'd from that Source.

We have liv'd to see Parties exchange every thing, but their Names, when they have exchanged their Condition. We have seen Men upbraided with being Deserters of their Party, only because they have continued firm to that Virtue, which was their sole Inducement to follow it: Whilst others have contended for the Title of its Assertors, only because they courted its Power, or had established their own by bringing its secret Iniquities to Success and Perfection. We have seen Men, who have acted upon a Principle of Party, for some time unsuspected, under a Mask of Virtue, break among themselves upon their own narrow Views, and expose their past selfish Ends, and iniquitous Means.

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We have seen Men assume to themselves the Character of Disinterestedness, only because their private interested Views were greater than Dependence and Servility would gratify, and endeavouring to muffle themselves up under a thin Appearance of Virtue, to cover, if they could, that Leprosy of Guilt, which, unless conceal'd, would frighten all Mankind from approaching them. We have seen Men, who have try'd to make, even Religion, a Tool of their Designs. We have seen the same Men endeavour to laugh it out of Doors, and cry up the Church, the Dissenters, Free-thinking, or No-thinking at all, just as it suited best with their present mysterious Purpose. We have seen (the most melancholy Ruin, the most moving Prospect, which human Nature can form) Men of uncommon Abilities, of penetrating Judgment, of laborious Experience, with natural Humanity and Affability to win, and easy Eloquence to persuade, form'd with every Qualification to discern, direct, and assist Mankind: Such Men have we seen, when they have suffer'd themselves for a time to float with the Tide of Party, forc'd on with the Stream, knowing all the Danger, but unable to stop, sinking with the Weight of their ill-managed Talents; mistrusted to a degree, that
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even notorious Truths in their Mouths, became Problems ; a Punishment to themselves, a Reproach to their Friends, an Obstacle to their own Views, useless to Mankind, and lost to their Country.

The Histories of the latest Times inform us, what have been the dreadful Effects of Party under different Appearances ; what Distraction and Dissolution of all Law and Society it produced, under the Name of Reformation ; and how it had almost depriv'd the Law of its Efficacy, and Society of its Rights, under that of Passive Obedience.

Such Mischiefs, will the Avarice, the Ambition, the Envy, and the Resentment of able Men produce ; whilst the well-meaning Multitude are led on by Appearances, to obstruct their own Views, and destroy their own Happiness. Thus Party-men will always be (for the greatest part) insignificant, and oftentimes honestly intentioned, whilst the Party they constitute, will always be dangerous, and most often directed to the most pernicious Ends.

Let any Man read the Papers, which are daily publish'd in opposition to each other ; let him consider them, without a Byass to either ; let him stand an impartial Spectator of the Divisions of his Country ;

see one Part charg'd with the odious Names of Deceivers and Incendiaries, Men leading and led to the most desperate Purposes, and only differing in the Degrees of that Mischief, which they would effect: The other Part branded with the infamous Appellation of the Corrupters and Betrayers of their Country; Men introducing the most oppressive Power under the most dangerous Form, and fixing a servile Dependence upon that Authority, which can claim its Subsistence alone upon the Preservation of Liberty.

These are Allegations of the highest and the most dreadful Nature; the present Effects we feel, and cannot but dread those, which may follow: Mistrust, Ill-will and Detraction, Breach of Friendship and Interruption of Society, are the present Fore-runners of those greater Evils, with which we are continually menaced.

Who can consider this Scene with Attention, and be fond of the Partialities, which have produced it; or put Ambition, Affectation, or Resentment in Balance with publick Welfare? For what is there in Power, that should compensate its Difficulties and Uncertainty, but the Opportunity of extending Humanity, and contributing to the Happiness of Society?

In Contention for Power, the End is little adequate to the Means, which Men usually employ in its Pursuit: Who guides the Helm, concerns us little; how we are steer'd, is the only material Consideration; and whosoever performs well the Drugery of the State, deserves his Hire, and the necessary Pageantry which attends it. An honest Man can see a Superior without Pain, and not wish every Man disgraced, who is not his Friend, or his Kinsman: A Change of Persons would alter nothing in his Sentiments of Things; nor can he, in his own Breast, admit, that his Affections or Resentments ought to be gratify'd at the Expence of the Publick.

We may read of great Ministers, whom we may admire; but hardly of any, whom we should have envy'd, when in Power. We may envy *Cincinnatus* his Retreat, his withdrawing from those Employments and Honours (when they were no longer necessary to the Preservation of his Country) which he had readily embraced, when they were too difficult and dangerous for Party-men to court them; his leaving to them the Wages and Trappings of Power, whilst he, in that very small paternal Spot of the Country which he had saved (leaving the Applause of his Fellow-citizens for Self-approbation) prefer'd

the undisturbed Reflection on his past Greatness to its Continuance ; and, by his Example, taught those, whom he had led to Victory in defence of their Liberty, to maintain that Liberty by Frugality and Virtue.

We may envy the Earl of *Clarendon* his Disgrace, his Loss of that Power, which he had hardly earned by his Affection and his Services, through a long Series of Labours and Afflictions, of Difficulties and Dangers ; in all which Length of Time, and Variety of Circumstances, he had never divided his Duty to his God, his King, and his Country ; but, secure of the Approbation of the former, had often incensed the two latter against him, by contending for their mutual Rights, Advantage and Honour, with the Freedom of a *Briton* and the Warmth of an honest Man ; driven at last from the Sight and Favour of both, for maintaining his Integrity in the Fulness of his Power ; calumniated by the Men, in whose Distresses he had embarked himself for favouring others, in his Greatness, who had been their mutual Oppressors, for making Affection and Resentment give way to Benevolence, and sacrificing Party to publick Utility : Twice persecuted by a Parliament, for being an Enemy to Corruption
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and undue Influence ; once in his Youth, the second time in his own Administration ; and given up by the King, for whose Cause he had suffered, because he would never consent to extend, beyond its safe Bounds, that Power, which he had in a great measure restored ; in his Exile adorned with that true Greatness, which no Prince's Favour can confer ; blest with that Philosophy, which only Virtue can teach in Adversity ; enjoying that Chearfulness in Leisure, which the Review of a Life well spent can only create ; and exerting to the last (what only were left him) his Pen and his Prayers, for the Welfare of his ungrateful Country, and his unkind Master.

These and such Men, and only such, are Objects of Envy ; their Station certainly more glorious, than that of a *Cesar* or a *Buckingham* ; their Happiness certainly more real.

But, since Party in this Country will probably at all times prevail, it will at all times concern us, nearly to watch its Pretences and its Progress, and be constantly upon our guard, to elude its Artifices and defeat its Success. For in such Conflicts of State, as it may not be honourable or safe to engage blindly on
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any Side ; so, it can certainly be neither, to be strictly neuter.

We may detest Party ; we may have no private Views for ourselves, or our Friends ; but whilst others, who have, advance theirs by our Indolence and Inactivity (however we may amuse ourselves with the Satisfaction of a negative Virtue) we are neither wise for ourselves, nor just to our Country. In so general an Engagement, we may be certain, that the good and the evil Genius of our Country both mix in the Fray ; and it is our Interest and our Duty to trace them out through all their Concealments. Here is the Distinction, in which every Man is most interested ; this the only Difference, in which a true Lover of his Country is concerned.

Let us then be no ways deter'd or blinded in this righteous Enquiry ; the Happiness, the Safety of our Country exacts it from us ; and let us boldly pluck off the Mask of Party, and strip her of all her Disguises : Let us not fear to mark out Guilt, whether arm'd with Power, or taking Refuge in a temporary Compliance with our Wishes : Let us single out none in the Pursuit from Malice ; let us spare none from Favour : Let us shew Party and Publick Spirit to the World in their
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true Forms; and let Men chuse between them; between their Deluder and their Guardian, their Destroyer and Preserver; when they shall trace Party Spirit through every Winding of Mischief, putting on every Form of Iniquity, or of Virtue; helping bad Men to deceive others, and good Men to deceive themselves; affecting the brightest Purposes, when it has the blackest Ends, and borrowing, like *Milton's* Satan, the Form of an Angel of Light, when its wicked Aim is to disturb the Peace of the World, and its fond Attempt to elude even the Eye of Heaven; whilst Publick Spirit shall appear as the great Chain, with which the wise Author of Good has connected his whole Creation, an extended Affection, begun in Self-preservation and Content, diffused to all Beings proportionably to their several Merits, and ended in Adoration of him, who is sole Perfection; an Effluence of the Divine Benevolence, as it raises and expands itself, approaching nearer to his Nature, effecting his Will, and perfecting the Order of the Universe.

Having then endeavour'd to give a general Idea of Party and Publick Spirit, and to shew the Necessity of distinguishing between them, it will be expedient to
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the End proposed in this Treatise, to enter more minutely into this Consideration.

In those Times, when the Dissensions between *Whig* and *Tory*, were most violent, a Foreigner coming to *England*, and being recommended to one of the former Denomination, asked his Friend one Day, who were reckoned the prettiest Women? To which the other instantly replied, by furnishing him with this short Rule, that all the *Whig* Ladies were handsome, and the *Tory* Women as ugly as the Devil. This kind of Determination (ridiculous as it may appear) most Men, who heartily engage themselves on any Side, will be ready to give, should they be asked, where Party and Publick Spirit are to be found. But those, who contend only with a View to unite, who would give Merit its Applause, and Vice its Censure, wherever they find them, will not take up with bold Assertions, or plausible Appearances; for there may, perhaps, upon a strict Enquiry, be no Set of Men, to which either Party or Publick Spirit can be totally denied; or, in the true Sense, properly allow'd.

Since then Publick Spirit and Party are of such jarring Natures; that, however any violent Commotion of State, may seemingly confound them; yet, in Time, they

or Resentment ; but, if our own Ends are truly publick, if the Welfare of our Country be our real View, and all others are indifferent, but as they contribute to, or depend upon that ; let us leave out all personal Considerations, both of Prejudice and Partiality, upon all Occasions ; let us examine Facts and their Tendency ; let us compare Men's Professions with their Conduct, and we shall not be long deceiv'd, to our own, or our Country's Disadvantage. By this Test, which they cannot long evade, they must at last be discovered : For the Aim of Party will be Persons ; the Aim of Publick Spirit, Things ; the Intention of Party, to govern ; the Intention of Publick Spirit, to reform ; the Principle of Party, will be Passion ; the Principle of Publick Spirit, must be Virtue.

The foregoing Considerations have endeavour'd to shew, that that that Party (the Prevalence of which has been in all times, and must always be, of the most mischievous and dangerous Consequence to this Nation) can never properly be fixed to any particular Denomination or Profession ; and it is to that Uncertainty and Mutability of the Object, that we may justly attribute the Mischief and the Danger.

A natural Desire of Happiness, with some Mixture of Vanity, makes all Men unwilling to allow themselves to have been deceived or misled : They find it an unpleasant Task to trace out the Faults of Persons, upon whom they have long depended ; and the Discovery begets new Jealousies, and a general Mistrustfulness, which makes the World very distasteful : And, indeed, this Reluctance is not to be wondered at ; it wears so much an Appearance of Wisdom, and even of Virtue, to retain old Habits and Opinions of Men, and of Things ; and Attachments, begun upon the most honest Views, may afterwards appear to a Man, so fixed upon him by long Acquaintance and Obligations, that even a good Man's Partiality will make him, for a long time, blind to the most notorious Faults ; and when he cannot avoid seeing them with the rest of the World ; yet still, for a while, his Affections will hold an equal Struggle with his Virtue. But whoever, with the least Experience of the World, has made any serious Reflection upon this Subject, must allow, that Denominations serve only for designing Men, to disunite Society in their Quarrels, and to effect their Purposes, by laying Men under a seeming Obligation, from a mistaken Point of Honour, to con-

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cur with them at all times, right or wrong. As if to form one general Judgment of Persons and Things, were a greater Proof of Justice and Wisdom, than to consider them impartially upon different Occasions; or that Men could see far enough into Futurity, to be well assur'd, that Persons would never alter their Conduct, nor Measures their Nature, from Time and Circumstances. Thus Fashion makes Slaves of the Multitude by their own Consent, tho' without their Knowledge; and false Honour and Custom, constitute Party: Thus the World is engaged in Animosities and fierce Contentions, to gratify the Ambition, or the Pride of a few Men: Thus Kingdoms are divided within themselves, and made a Prey to their Enemies from without or within; whilst those, who mean the best, are led on by this blind Zeal, and made Instruments of Mischiefs, to which by free Choice they would never have consented.

But, as Men of any Religion may adore their Creator and be just to their Neighbour, and yet no Religion makes all, who profess it (of consequence) either honest Men, or true Believers; so Men, whether in Opposition or in Office, may equally entertain upright Intentions, whilst no

Denomination can (of necessity) make them true Lovers of their Country : In both Cases, Practice, not Profession, must determine ; as, in the former, the Sincerity of our Hearts, upon the best Information, and a charitable Allowance to all those, who profess a different Faith, must undoubtedly be the safest and best Religion, tho' it may interfere with the Zeal of Church-men ; so in the latter, acting on our own Principles with Integrity, without excluding all Men, who hold a different Conduct from our Good-will and Society, is certainly the wisest and most honest Policy, tho' it may embarrass the Ambition of leading Party-men. Distinction, Separation, and Passion, are the Instruments of their Power : But he, whose Views are nobly unconfin'd by particular Considerations, and takes in the general Welfare of Society, will not be misled by the Example of the Weak, or the Artifices of the Designing, to confound Obstinacy with Constancy, or Partiality with Zeal ; he will make it his Business to break down Partitions, and extinguish Animosities ; he will think Argument, and the Justice of his Cause, sufficient to animate, and that Abuse and Passion ought never to persuade ; he will be candid to his Adversaries, and watchful
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of his Friends ; he will make Truth and Justice the Rules of his Conduct, and will take no Profession or Person, to be the Standard of either : If he be young, he will feel and enjoy his Superiority in Virtue ; but, in Decency to himself, and to the Consent of the wisest Nations in all Ages, will preserve the outward Deference which he owes to more Age and Authority ; but, in his own Breast, he will endeavour to distinguish between Appearances and Realities, and be led only by Argument and Proof ; he will not mistake Ambition for Patriotism, nor Resentment for Justice ; he will not be seduced by Abilities unsupported by Morals, nor misled by an iniquitous Experience ; he will remember, that *Cesar* raised himself to absolute Power by fighting for his Country, and that *Cromwell* was above two Thirds of his Life a Champion for Liberty : If he has acted any Time upon the Stage of the World, he will make Allowance for mistaken Warmth and Prejudices, which he has felt in his Time : But he will judge of Mens Ends by their Actions ; he will exert his Abilities and Experience, to disabuse Mankind of their Errors, and detect and oppose Party Spirit, wherever he finds it conceal'd : He will not be dejected with the Detection of a false Friend

or Associate; but be animated by every new Deceit and Danger which he discovers, and not sacrifice his Integrity to his Affections, his Indolence, or his Pride.

But, if ever we should see the known Rules of Justice and of Truth, opposed or evaded; if we should ever see Men eminent in the Law, prostituting their Learning to disgrace their Profession, and finding a Refuge for Iniquity, even in the very Bulwarks of Justice; if reformed Church-men at any time (tho' they published the most persuasive Arguments against the Errors of *Rome*) should take upon themselves to canonize Men in Power, and sanctify Corruption; tho' they should write Volumes to disprove a speculative Opinion of the Pope's Authority, if they should enjoyn a practical Faith in the Infallibility of an Administration; could we be imposed upon, either by their Sense or their Sanctity?

But if the very Foundations of the Constitution of this Country should ever be shaken, should Dissoluteness of Morals and Contempt of Religion, should Corruption and Dependency, should perpetual Armies and perpetual Debts, should increase of publick Expence and Profusion of publick Treasure, should undue Influence in Elections and partial Determinations, where Property and Law are concern'd; should these
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ever be contended for and justified ; should ever the Advocates for these be Men of high Stations and great Abilities ; should such Men only, who maintain or practise these Doctrines, be favoured and advanced, and no Man venture to oppose them without being discountenanced and defam'd ; should an implicit Obedience to the former be then construed Loyalty, and a bold Assertion of Liberty in the latter be interpreted, at least, a Tendency to Treason ; should, in consequence of all this, the meanest Vices become fashionable, and Piety and Virtue be ridicul'd and insulted ; should Men of Rank glory in their Shame, and publicly avow their Interestedness and blind Obedience ; whilst, preferring the Vanity of Judgment to the Satisfaction of Virtue, they might even affect to condemn the very Measures, which themselves advanced ; should great Armies be maintain'd, when no Man could point out the Necessity ; should the Reputation of this Nation be sunk abroad, her Interposition neglected, and her Commerce reduced ; and at home her Treasures exhausted, her Credit precarious, and her Liberties undermin'd in Times of Tranquillity ; we could then have no doubt, where the Balance wanted Weight ; we might then be very sure, that our Country was reduced to the last Extremity ; and let this Progression of

Mischief

Mischief have been from Chance or from Design, whoever might have contrived, or contributed to it ; in such a Circumstance, we should equally be concerned to defend her.

Should ever this Nation. be sunk to so deplorable a Circumstance, can we imagine, that any Persons in their Senses, could then be induced to contribute to her final Destruction, from Motives of old Prejudice, or private Attachments ; or from an Indolence, more criminal and unaccountable than either, in not thinking such Facts worth an impartial Enquiry ?

Will any Man suffer his House to burn, rather than take the Alarm from one he disregards, or rather than expose thereby the Negligence or Fault of a favourite Servant ? In a Case of that vast Importance, no Prejudice should inflame, or Partiality deceive us ; but if, upon Examination, such Facts, or any of them, should ever appear to be true ; who is there so mean, so dead to all Honour, so blind, even to his own Advantage, that he would sculk behind any Pretences of Interest or Diffidence, of Party or Friendship, when his Country called for Succour ? Let the narrow-minded reflect, and he would find his own Interest inseparable from that of his Country ; that whatever oppressed and
exhausted

exhausted her, must necessarily weaken and impoverish his own Family ; and that the Spoils, he would pillage from her, probably must crush the sacrilegious Possessor : Could Friendship (Virtue's noblest Reward) be prostituted to those, who betray'd the most sacred Trust, in contributing to the Destruction of their own Country, and the Oppression of their own Posterity? Would not Men consider, whether those, who destroy the first Bonds of Society, have not cancelled every inferior Obligation, would they not remember, that their first Attachments and Affections are owing to their Country, to the Memory of their Ancestors, and the Hopes of their Posterity? And, if any Men should at such a Time boldly stand up in Defence of the Liberties and Laws, the Prosperity and Honour, of their sinking Country ; unaw'd by Power, and unchecked'd by Discountenance or Oppression ; could any Man imagine, that he could err in that first Step? Who is there, that could be unconcern'd in such a Contest? Who is there, that must not see through every Artifice, that might be used to defame it? Who is there, that must not know, that such an Opposition could not be Party, it must be Publick Spirit ?

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But, even in such a Case, let Men take Publick Spirit for their Guide, as well as their Motive; let them not confound Persons with Things; let them not be transported by Imputations of Guilt, nor led away by Pretences to Virtue, to center all their Views in the Destruction of one Set of Men, and the Advancement of another; let them not divide Mankind in the Choice of their Masters; let them not imagine, that all Men are actuated by the same disinterested Principle; let them mistrust the Disguise of Party Spirit, under the most active Appearance of Virtue, and give the strictest Observance to its Countenance in every Light, and its Actions upon every Occasion; let them act with Firmness, but with Temper; with a necessary Confidence, but not with Credulity; follow no Man blindly, because he may pretend their Views with more Talents and Experience; but force the Designing to be instrumental to publick Good, and defeat all their pernicious Intentions; let them trace out Publick Spirit, from Facts and from Actions; from the Study of the Constitution of their Country, and from the Impulse of their own Conscience; and let them follow that with steady Resolution, wherever it leads them, tho' even through Calumny and Oppres-

Oppression; for at the last it must, it will conduct them surely to their own, and their Country's Happiness and Glory: Let Men winnow (if they can) the Iniquities of their Country; cast away the useless or pernicious Part, indifferently, whether it comes from their own Stock, or their Neighbours; and, without distinguishing upon what Soil it grew, or by what Hands it had been managed, blend together the Virtue, which they clear, rejoice and strengthen themselves with it for the present, and store up Prosperity and Peace for the times to come.

F I N I S.









